595 They have as many wives as they want, especially the chiefs and their children. They even have them on different islands. The wives live in separate little huts and sleep with their husbands in succession, one during one month, the other the next month. The one who is sleeping with the husband serves him during this time and follows him everywhere, even to sea. If they surprise their wives in adultery or if the wives become pregnant by another man, they usually kill them, even though they sometimes leave them for two or three years without going to see them. The men are free to leave their wives, [597] and the wives may then remarry; but the wives do not have the right to leave their husbands. Even though the husband may have several wives, these are hardly jealous, except perhaps rarely.

606 The husband never speaks to the father, mother, and brothers of his wife, unless they are drunk or are children. If he meets them on the same path, he avoids them by making a big detour. If necessity obliges them to speak, as when they are at sea, they turn their faces away and cut the conversation short. They use no ceremony at all for their marriage. If the girl does not already belong to the man, as the cousin issued from the [mother's] sister, he asks for her from the father or mother. They do not know what it is to speak of love. They rarely marry without the consent of their father or mother. The men do not sleep with their wives unless they are really nubile and capable of having children. When the wives are delivered of child, the husbands separate from them and they do not sleep together for five or six months. And they both fast—it is one of their most famous fasts—especially when their first child is a boy. The man fasts more rigorously than the woman, lest the child suffer. Father Raymond being at the home of The Baron at Dominica, went to see one of these fasters and as the Father spoke to him of this fast, the Carib told him that some men completely abstain from drinking and eating for the first five days after a childbirth by their wives, and then take nothing but some ouicou from the sixth to tenth days. After that they eat nothing but cassava and drink ouicou for the period of a month or two. Note that they eat nothing but the heart of the cassava and hang the rest with a cord for the feast. It is true that when they begin to eat, they eat and drink when they want, but nothing more than cassava and ouicou. When the day of the feast arrives, their friends assemble and one slashes the skin of the father's whole body with agouti teeth,

594 a man she is told to carry dinner to her intended husband and she eats with him, a thing which is only permitted to wives. [433]

They name the wives of the Caribs according to the order in
● 595 which they were married. It is a general rule that some of the Caribs have many wives. Nevertheless, there are many women without husbands because the greater part of the husbands have only one wife. There are some who have two wives in one or two carbets. It happens quite often when they are in another island that they do not bring their women with them. They obtain new ones only for the time that they expect to live there. I have never seen two women eating or sleeping with one man at the same time. They do not travel together with him in the same canoe. Each has her turn from month to month, even when pregnant. After giving birth, a wife has no relations with her husband for a long period, fearing that this will harm the child if she did so. The above is what ordinarily happens concerning marriage. There are some abnormalities in particular instances. I have seen
[236] two men who took their very own daughters as wives, but all the others hated them because of this. The son of one of these men joined the Capuchin Order, because he was so ashamed of the infamy of his father, and he died a Christian death at the convent of these fathers located at the new street of St. Honoré in Paris. I have seen another
573 who had as wives both a mother and her daughter, and some who had carried off the wives of others because they maintained these women belonged to them by right. They have an expression for this situation which means they ravish women belonging to another. Those who carry the women off call them nábognoni. The old men sometimes take girls who are fourteen or fifteen years old, in addition to all of the slave women which the young men capture. Slave women are given by the young men to their fathers or grandfathers. The children of these marriages are respected and treated as legitimate. Finally certain ones stand under suspicion of tendencies against nature, but this evil is recognized and pointed out. [277]

575 The women are able to have one husband only, and several wives call their husband by the same name. Carib men are able to have several wives and use several names to distinguish them. They build their wives separate houses in order to live with them more quietly. Women are rarely found all together with their husband, and they never share his hammock. Each wife has a moon during which time she serves him and follows him everywhere. When the moon expires she yields her

place to another. [312] The wives of the Caribs pretend to be brave and they take care not to show their jealousy. But however hard they try, jealousy shows itself. It appears that they have reason to be jealous, for the custom is that a wife having lived for one month with her husband should retire yielding her place to another. Sometimes, however, a man stays for a full year with another, abandoning the one he had chosen previously, and she feels this sharply. If she betrays her husband he will not fail to kill her. I have seen captains who tell their sons-in-law to go and sleep with their wives, for otherwise the captains say, they will give their daughters to others and this has happened several times. [308] When women die the men remarry, and when men die the women take other husbands. If these husbands also die, they can take other husbands. [269]

The Carib women do not approach anyone when they have their menstrual cycle upset and they will not allow anyone to approach them, no matter what bad treatment they receive for this conduct, because they believe that this would upset the cycle more. [298]

The young married people turn aside to avoid speaking and meeting their fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law, mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. When I observed this I asked them why they avoided speaking with people who are so useful to them. Their reply was, "It is not permitted for me. I dare not do it." [301] "Your mother-in-law is troublesome to you when she does not see her husband." [136]

Acátobou is a maternal uncle, i.e. mother's brother. Neukécayem is an uncle who has married a maternal aunt. Naheupouli is an aunt. Ninántagamm is the term by which uncles call their nephews who are sons of their sisters. The aunts call these nephews ihátomon. Uncles and aunts call their nieces nibéche. Uncles and aunts call the children of their nephews nínibothe, niramothe. The children of nephews call their great uncles and great aunts by the same term that their fathers use for these very same relatives. First cousins whom we call sons of the father's brother are called "brother." The brothers of the father are also called "father." The children of brothers never marry among themselves. But if the sisters of their fathers should have daughters they may well marry them. If there should be no daughters these male cousins are called iapétagamm. Girl cousins call their maternal male cousins nígatou when their sisters do not marry them, and in this case the boy cousins call these girl cousins nicélle atoucam. However, if these boy cousins should take these girl cousins in marriage, the female cousin is

it wants to drink and puts it back afterwards. No one may go or dares to go and see it in its cavern unless he has fasted for three days and abstains from his wife. Otherwise he should not be able to see it, or he would be in danger of being bewitched by it, that is to say, killed.

2. Clothing

The Caribs go entirely naked without shame, the women as well as the men. I have scolded a captain for this but he only answered: "That no good for France, good for Carib." They use urucu [rocou; body paint] to redden their bodies which would otherwise be the color of olives. The women sometimes have a kind of legging which extends from the knee to ankle and which they consider to be fashionable. Men and women wear, when they have them, necklaces of glass beads or crystal, or small, well-matched bones.

There is a man whom we called the Pilot who among them is considered to be one of their foremost captains and is an old friend and loyal to the French. When this man came to visit the governor he wore a hat on his head as a sign that he was beloved and esteemed by the French. The others were as bare-headed as they were naked. They bound their hair, which was not too long, behind their head, and passed through it feathers of the aras [macaw], flamingo, and other birds. These feathers hung from behind, and they also fastened in the same place some trinkets in their manner. They had plucked their beards. Arlet, a brother of the Pilot, and himself a captain, had some small pieces of brass hanging from his lip, chin, and nose.

3. Occupations

Women are unhappy and are treated as slaves, for it is required of them to work in the gardens, tend the family duties, and do everything except go to war, fish, or hunt. If there should be large trees to fell the husband will sometimes take the trouble to do it. They have many wives, whom they take and leave as they wish. They treat them very badly and sometimes kill them, having as a people no justice and no superior authority. Each one does as he wishes and is acquitted of the most horrible crimes if he says that he was "drunk

584 —the female first cousin descending from the female line does belong to them—they ask her father for her, for they seldom marry against
582 the will of their parents. They have no degree of consanguinity forbidden among them, and it has happened that fathers marry their own daughters from whom they have children, and mothers marry their
[595] sons, although this is a very rare thing. It is quite common to see a case where two sisters have married the same man, and sometimes a
584 man marries a mother and her daughter. If a girl marries a captain or the son of a captain she is led to her husband by her father and her mother, and she carries her husband's dinner to him. The two of them eat it together, sitting on the ground in the center of the house without any other celebration, except perhaps for a little drinking party, that is to say a little debauchery between the parents, although this
591 is quite rare. The woman then lives with her husband. When a man who is not a captain marries a girl, he goes from his own place of residence as we have said, and lives in the house of his father-in-law.
604 In this situation the women have the advantage over their husbands, for they may speak to all kinds of people while the husband does not dare to speak to the parents of his wife, unless this restriction is dispensed with either by their age or by their drunkeness. They avoid meeting each other by making devious paths. If they are surprised in a place where they cannot take back what they have said, the one spoken to turns his head to one side in order to avoid looking at the man who speaks, if he must hear him. This strange custom was reported to me by a young man who had been a slave among them for
551 a long time. Husbands and wives change their names when they are married.

595 Polygamy is common among them and almost all of them have several wives and sometimes even six or seven. They even have wives in different islands where they are accustomed to go. It is chiefly the captain who boasts of having a large family in order to gain more credit among his people and to render himself more formidable to his enemies. A Carib who has several wives builds a small house for each of them. The husband visits them there so that
[595] for one month—they count by moons—he lives with one wife, and another month with another. Concerning this point it appears that there is no kind of jealousy among them. Women of Europe, call it a miracle if you wish!

● 545 The wife who is living with her husband during this month is obliged to prepare for him all the necessities. She makes bread for him and serves him as her master, painting him red and combing his hair every day. If he needs to travel she accompanies him everywhere during his trip. Since the love for their wives is unequal, the visits are sometimes not so evenly regulated. The husbands let whole years elapse without living with some of their wives. But if the wife is the daughter of a captain, he is interested in his child and threatens his son-in-law that he will take back his daughter and give her to someone else. If the wife is deceived and seduced by the wiles and promise of a lover and if her sin, done secretly, is discovered by her husband, he sometimes forgives his wife but never the wife's lover. 546 They like to be as free to abandon their wives as they are to chose them, and this is the reason why they leave them whenever they please. The wives do not have the same right and need their husbands' consent. If a man marries a slave he has captured in war, she is included among his wives, but she always has her hair cut like that of a boy. Often when they have taken their pleasure they strike their captured women with a boutou—which is a kind of club and is their ordinary weapon—and by hitting them on the head send them to the next world as their only reward. Nevertheless, this is rather rare and we have seen several of them, especially old men, who tenderly loved their young slaves and the children of such, who enjoyed the same condition as the man's other children.

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546 There is no doubt at all that the female animals in our islands have a shorter gestation period than in Europe. I have neither noticed nor heard that women are affected in this way. However, the women are capable of having children earlier and they stop bearing children later than European women. If one looks into the register of Guadeloupe he will find the name of an old Carib woman called Madame, who is one hundred years old, and she has a daughter who is five years old. I have seen the woman and child. Her age is only conjectural, yet it is certain that she could not have been less than eighty years old when she gave birth to the child.

The Reverend Jesuit Father Chemel let me know several facts in letters which he did me the honor of writing, and which prove what now follows. He told me that at the time he lived in the islands a

The
217 register of births includes, from the first of January, 1917, to March,
[163] 1920, 70 births, of which only 38 are legitimate, with an equal num-
165 ber of children of each sex. The register of deaths mentions in the same lapse of time 48 deaths, caused by the following illnesses, whose diagnosis is perhaps slightly capricious.

Dysentery	15	Disorders of the heart	1
Fever	13	" of the blood	1
Pleurisy	4	Accidents	3
Sunstroke	2	Stillborn or dead	
Bronchitis	1	shortly after birth	8

These deaths are distributed as follows according to age:

	Masculine	Feminine		Masculine	Feminine
Up to 3	14	11	From 15 to 50	12	3
From 3 to 15	2	3	Over 50	0	3

The three women who died above the age of fifty were respectively 80, 87, and 89 years old, and in examining the last figures in the chart one notes that longevity is greater in the feminine sex than in the masculine.

135 /142/ Incestuous marriages are still frequent; they were the rule formerly; "fathers," according to Father Duterte, "married their daughters, mothers, their sons, and the same man married two sisters
512 or the mother and the daughter. Women married at the age of seventeen or eighteen, but they are nubile younger and often have children before this age. Formerly polygamy was general and the
595 Caribs had as many as seven wives, not counting those whom they married on each island where they went often. Now that the Caribs
711 profess, at least nominally, the Catholic faith, a man has only one legitimate wife; it is true that he adds as many concubines as his
[43] fortune permits him to have. Children are generally numerous; there are 8 or 9 on the average and up to 14; the number of stillbirths and the infant mortality is 11.4 per 100.

Religious ideas, according to all the ancient travellers, were very little developed among the Caribs of the Antilles and consisted
[79] simply of a vague belief in a good and an evil principle, which they called maniton, but they had no word to denote God or a superior Spirit.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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between father and daughter, brother and sister, and of mother and daughter with the same man; "but the others hated them because of it." Of polygyny, the latter author wrote:

> It is a fact that some of the savages have several wives; yet nevertheless many women are without husbands, because the majority have only one wife, though there are a few who have two in one or two cabets. It happens quite often (when they are in another island where they have not brought their wives-men) that they get themselves new men for the time of their stay only. I have never seen two women together, eating or sleeping with a Savage, nor travelling together with him in the same canoe. They have their turn, month and month about, even when pregnant. After giving birth they are a good while without seeing them for fear of harming the child.
>
> However, it was not unknown for a wife to remain without seeing her husband for a whole year; and we are told of one case where the neglected woman's father, a chief, went to warn his son-in-law that unless he put in a speedy appearance, he would find his wife bestowed upon another. Du Tertre, La Borde,[4] and Labat (though not Breton) mention the sorcerer. "If a husband shows himself worthy," says the latter, "or should his wife grow ill or old, the father-in-law will reward him by presenting him with the younger sister of his wife."
>
> The old records mention no marriage ceremony other than that which consisted in the bride's serving the groom with food, and then eating with him. Then their hammocks would be slung next to one another; and the following day, the bride would comb her husband's hair and smear him with oil and roko (*Bixa orellana*). No women-folk except a man's own wife might eat with him, says Breton; while according to Labat (and present-day usage) not even wives eat with their husbands.
>
> The bridegroom—unless he were a chief or a chief's son—took up his abode with his wife's family, and contributed as best he could to their common weal. Every married woman had her own fire for cooking, however; and every couple its own minyak, to sleep in, as well as the use of the communal tabuy or longhouse, which was divided into men's and women's halves. As has been seen above, if a man had more than one wife, he was expected to divide his time and services between their respective cabets.
>
> Newly married couples were supposed to avoid (for how long we are not told) parents-in-law and siblings-in-law. Nor should they visit sick people, as this might hinder their recovery. According to Rochefort[5] (and present-day

4 (R. P.) de La Borde, *Recueil des divers voyages* (Paris, 1674).

5 César de Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des Antilles de l'Amérique* (Rotterdam, 1681) (also attributed to de Poincy).

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13

urukámbai, "closes the pores, prevents the seawater from drying on their skins, keeps off mosquitoes, and kills chigoes."[33]

Carib basketry was and still is made from *Ischnosiphon arouma* (Aublet) Koernicke, the "maliétan" of Breton's or the uarimá of our own time and spelling, and not, as Rouse says, from "Lavania" (presumably an anglicization of French lanière, from Carib alátani, which is the small fan-palm, *Coccothrinax martinicensis* Beccari), whose leaves served as thatching and for making rough sunshades, umbrellas, bags, etc., but could not possibly be employed in the typical wicker pattern and twilled basketry of the Carib. As in Breton's time, so today Carib baskets have a double wall and cover like those of the Taino described by Rouse,[34] but such baskets are and may be rendered waterproof only by the insertion of one or more intermediary layers of leaves. The *Mystiax eblatis* is not found in the Lesser Antilles today, and it seems probable that the "mussel" whose shells were used, according to Rouse,[35] in scraping utensils employed for basketry, refers to some other species.

Although it may not be possible, as Rouse says, to substantiate Gower's statement that descent was matrilineal among the Island Carib, this feature is at least implicit in the kinship terminology.

Breton is in disagreement with Rouse's authorities on several points concerning the life cycle. Of a husband's relations with his wives, he says:

> they [the wives] have their turn month and month about, even when they are pregnant; after childbirth they [the husbands] remain without seeing them for a good while, for fear of harming the child.[36]

In seeming contradiction, Rouse says that sexual intercourse was forbidden during pregnancy, and does not mention post-puerperal abstinence.[37] The solution may perhaps be found in the attitude of the modern Carib father, who says that while abstinence during pregnancy is a matter of taste, intercourse during the forty-day period following birth would be injurious to the child. Rouse notes that the accounts of the couvade vary considerably, his own being "taken largely from Davies, with supplemental data from Le Breton." "For several days after birth the mother fasted, eating only dried cassava and drinking warm water. The father, on the other hand, practiced the couvade. Immediately after the birth he con-

33 Rouse, op. cit., p. 79.
34 *Handbook*, p. 527.
35 *Handbook*, p. 594.
36 Rouse, op. cit., p. 274.
37 *Handbook*, p. 537.